

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 ACDE-00 DOEE-00 /026 W
-----112587 081157Z /42
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0581
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 08705

EXDIS USCTB

PASS TO DOE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: US PLENARY STATEMENT, JUNE 7

CTB MESSAGE NO. 233

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF US STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB. WARNKE
AT JUNE 7 PLENARY MEETING. BEGIN TEXT:

I AM VERY PLEASED TO BE BACK AND I CONGRATULATE ALL OF
YOU ON YOUR GOOD WORK IN MY ABSENCE.

I AM GLAD TO SEE THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL
WORKING GROUP HAVE DEVELOPED A COMPOSITE TEXT ON THE
INITIATION OF ON-SITE INSPECTIONS. ALTHOUGH THE TEXT IS
NOT YET COMPLETELY FREE OF BRACKETS, I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT
WE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO RESOLVE THE FEW REMAINING
DIFFERENCES.

SPEAKING FOR THE US DELEGATION, WE WELCOME THE NEGOTIA-
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TING DOCUMENT ON THE RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS OF DESIGNATED
PERSONNEL WHICH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS TABLED, AND
WHICH IS NOW BEING DISCUSSED--TOGETHER WITH THE US DOCUMENT
--BY A TECHNICAL SUBGROUP. IN THESE DISCUSSIONS, WE SHOULD
BEGIN TO MAKE CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUES OF RIGHTS
AND FUNCTIONS.

WE HAVE ALSO HAD SOME USEFUL INITIAL EXCHANGES ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONAL SEISMIC STATIONS, ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THIS WORK MUST BE EXPEDITED IF OUR NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE COMPLETED IN THE REASONABLY NEAR FUTURE. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS INDICATED THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO MOVE FASTER ON NSS ISSUES ONCE IT HAS RECEIVED DETAILED DESIGN DRAWINGS AND RELATED DATA FOR THE PROTOTYPE SEISMIC STATION NOW BEING DEVELOPED AT THE SANDIA LABORATORY IN NEW MEXICO. I AM THEREFORE PLEASED TO SAY THAT WE EXPECT TO RECEIVE THE DESIGN DRAWINGS AND DATA AND TO MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO THE SOVIET AND UK DELEGATIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE ALSO HOPE SOON TO MAKE A PROPOSAL WITH REGARD TO THE NUMBER AND LOCATIONS OF SEISMIC STATIONS.

IN MY PLENARY STATEMENT OF MAY 17 I REFERRED TO A GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG OUR THREE DELEGATIONS TO FOCUS ON KEY VERIFICATION ISSUES. I STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE COMPLETION OF OUR WORK EXPEDITIOUSLY WOULD NOT ONLY REQUIRE AN EVEN GREATER EFFORT THAN IN THE PAST, BUT THAT WE NEEDED TO DO SERIOUS WORK ON THE ENTIRE RANGE OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES, AS WELL AS VERIFICATION. I WISH TO TURN NOW TO A VERY BASIC ISSUE, THE DURATION OF THE TREATY. THE QUESTION OF DURATION IS OF COURSE CLOSELY LINKED TO PROVISIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL AND TO THE PNE PROTOCOL, WHICH WOULD BE CO-TERMINOUS WITH THE TREATY.

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THE QUESTION OF DURATION HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF AN INTENSIVE REVIEW BY THE US GOVERNMENT OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS. IN THIS REVIEW WE HAVE HAD IN MIND THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS PROPOSED A TREATY THAT WOULD TERMINATE AFTER A CERTAIN PERIOD, THREE YEARS, IF OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS HAD NOT ADHERED. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS MADE CLEAR ITS BELIEF THAT THE THREE NUCLEAR PARTIES SHOULD DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF DURATION AND WITHDRAWAL ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IT HAS DESCRIBED AS THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITY OF ACTION. MY GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, HAD SUGGESTED DEALING WITH THESE ISSUES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A TREATY OF UNLIMITED DURATION, WITH PROVISIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.

IN CONDUCTING OUR REVIEW OF HOW WE MIGHT BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO APPROACHES, WE RECOGNIZED THAT BASIC PERCEPTIONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY ARE INVOLVED AND MUST BE DEALT WITH IN SOME EVEN-HANDED WAY IN TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO US ALL. AFTER CONSIDERABLE STUDY OF ALL AVAILABLE OPTIONS, THEREFORE, AND WITH CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF OUR GOVERNMENTS --AS WELL AS FOR OUR COMMON LONG-RANGE GOALS OF CURBING NUCLEAR COMPETITION AND PROMOTING NON-PROLIFERATION--THE

PRESIDENT HAS AUTHORIZED ME TO PROPOSE A TREATY WITH A FIXED DURATION OF FIVE YEARS. WE PROPOSE, IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT THE TREATY PROVIDE FOR A MULTILATERAL REVIEW CONFERENCE OF PARTIES IN THE FIFTH YEAR TO DETERMINE WHETHER TO NEGOTIATE A REPLACEMENT TREATY. WE WOULD EXPECT TO SUBMIT ANY FURTHER AGREEMENT ON TESTING LIMITATIONS TO THE US SENATE FOR ITS APPROVAL.

SOMETIME BEFORE THE REVIEW CONFERENCE, WE WOULD ASSUME

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THAT THE NUCLEAR STATES PARTY TO THE TREATY WOULD HOLD CONSULTATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF A REPLACEMENT TREATY, AND CONSENSUS AMONG THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES PARTIES WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR FUTURE LIMITATIONS ON TESTING GOING BEYOND THE FIVE-YEAR TREATY. THUS THE COOPERATION AMONG OUR THREE STATES, WHICH WE ENVISAGE IN THE OPERATION OF THE TREATY, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, WOULD BE CONTINUED IN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF FUTURE LIMITATIONS ON TESTING BEYOND THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. I BELIEVE THIS APPROACH IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE IDEA OF UNITY OF ACTION WHICH THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS DESCRIBED TO US.

I WOULD LIKE TO RESTATE THE US PROPOSAL. WE PROPOSE THAT THE TREATY HAVE A FIXED, FIVE YEAR DURATION. THE SAME PERIOD WOULD OF COURSE APPLY TO THE PNE PROTOCOL. WE PROPOSE THAT IN THE FIFTH YEAR A REVIEW CONFERENCE OF

PARTIES DETERMINE WHETHER TO NEGOTIATE A REPLACEMENT
TREATY. FINALLY, ALTHOUGH WE SEE NO NEED TO INCLUDE THE
POINT EXPLICITLY IN THE TREATY, WE PROPOSE THAT BEFORE
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THE REVIEW CONFERENCE THE NUCLEAR STATES PARTY SHOULD HOLD
CONSULTATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF ANY FUTURE LIMITATIONS
ON TESTING BEYOND THE FIVE-YEAR DURATION OF THE TREATY.

AS I SAID EARLIER, THE PRESIDENT AUTHORIZED ME TO
MAKE THESE PROPOSALS. HE ALSO DIRECTED ME--AND THIS WAS AN
EQUALLY CONSIDERED AND IMPORTANT DECISION ON HIS PART--TO
INFORM OUR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS OF HIS DESIRE THAT WE
EXPEDITE OUR WORK IN OUR EFFORTS TO BRING THESE NEGOTIA-
TIONS TO AN EARLY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS HAVE PROGRESSED
AS WELL AS THEY HAVE BECAUSE EACH SIDE HAS BEEN ABLE TO
TAKE CERTAIN MAJOR STEPS TOWARD THE OTHER. LAST NOVEMBER
THE SOVIET UNION TOOK SUCH A STEP BY AGREEING TO A MORA-
TORIUM ON PNES IN A PROTOCOL WHICH WOULD BE AN INTEGRAL
PART OF THE TREATY. LAST JANUARY THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTED FROM ITS LONG-ESTABLISHED POSITION ON MANDATORY
ON-SITE INSPECTIONS AND AGREED TO ACCEPT A SYSTEM THAT
WOULD BE VOLUNTARY--BUT NOT ARBITRARY. WE ALSO AGREED
THAT NATIONAL SEISMIC STATIONS COULD BE MANNED BY THE HOST
COUNTRY. THESE WERE MAJOR STEPS BY EACH OF THE SIDES. WE
ARE NOW TAKING YET ANOTHER SUCH STEP IN PROPOSING A FIXED-
DURATION TREATY. OUR PROPOSAL REPRESENTS A GENUINE EFFORT
TO FIND COMMON GROUND AND SHOULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. IN VIEW OF THIS STEP WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS
NOW TAKEN, WE WOULD HOPE AND EXPECT THAT THERE WOULD BE
CONTINUING PROGRESS ON THE REMAINING TREATY ISSUES,
ESPECIALLY ON THE ISSUES OF VERIFICATION, WHICH ARE OF
CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES.

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE A GREAT DEAL YET TO DO, THE PROGRESS
OF OUR TALKS IN RECENT DAYS HAS BEEN VERY ENCOURAGING.
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WITH CONTINUED EFFORT AND GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES, I
BELIEVE WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR COMMON GOAL, THE EARLY COMPLE-
TION OF THE CTB TREATY. END TEXT. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

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